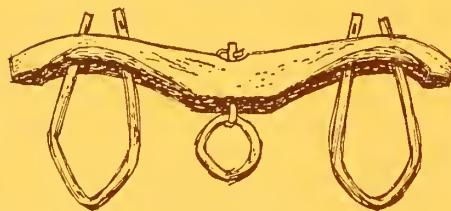


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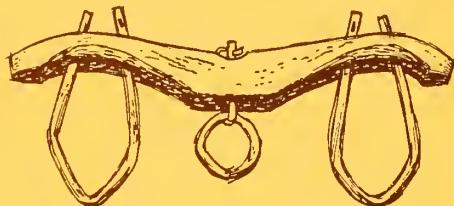
“THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES”

The Follett, Foster Edition of a Great Political Document

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DEPARTMENT OF LINCOLNIA
LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY
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"THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES"

The Follett, Foster Edition of a Great Political Document

By JAY MONAGHAN*

EDITOR'S NOTE: Jay Monaghan, author of the accompanying article, has recently completed the compilation of an exhaustive Lincoln bibliography under the direction of the Illinois State Historical Library. The new bibliography is expected to be issued during the year.

Mr. Monaghan is a native of Pennsylvania, graduate of Swarthmore, and took his master's work at the University of Pennsylvania. He saw service in World War I as aerial photographer and following the war spent 14 years in Colorado and Utah in the range livestock business.

One of his most interesting excursions in the historical field was the location of early trapper forts under the direction of the Colorado Historical Society. He outfitted and guided two archeological expeditions on the desert. He has been engaged in bibliographical work for a number of years and supervised the compilation of bibliographies of foreign language periodicals in Chicago. He is a contributor to the "Dictionary of American History", "Atlas of American History," and several historical publications. Since 1939 he has been connected with the Illinois State Historical Library.

Sep 22 1962
S. Allen

The people of Springfield, Illinois, were excited and annoyed. A truculent Confederate had come to town wearing a Secession cockade on his hat. With no regard for the recently elected President of the United States, the irate Southerner stalked into Abraham Lincoln's office looking for trouble. The President-elect watched the sullen figure for a few minutes, then opened a small book and wrote an inscription on the title page. Handing the volume to his visitor, Lincoln "hoped its possession would not give him any trouble on his return to Mississippi." The book, if read carefully and thoughtfully, would be found to contain all of Lincoln's political opinions on the slavery issue summed up in 268 pages of small type. The Southerner retired to growl over them at his leisure.

Lincoln was proud of the work. He considered it an important element in his election. The book was entitled *Political Debates between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas In the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois*. The debates had interested the whole country. They made Abraham Lincoln a national figure. Two years elapsed between their presentation and the presidential election, but during that time the previously obscure name of Abraham Lincoln appeared in practically all the lists of prospective candidates. The debates also carried the seeds of Douglas' destruction in the forthcoming election and by so doing became

one of the immediate causes of the Civil War. Although never ranking in circulation with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Helper's Impending Crisis*, the *Debates* did become a best seller—an unusual distinction for a political discussion of constitutional law.

The original text has been reprinted many times for students of history, for English classes as an example of Lincoln's style, and as a model for debaters. It has appeared in ten editions and thirty-eight separate issues, not counting variants in binding, corrections of damaged type and accidental freaks of assembly. The editions and issues of the published *Debates* are further confused by the fact that thirteen publishers have affixed their imprints to the ten sets of plates at different times. No wonder collectors of Lincolniana consider the publication fundamental. At auctions, copies of the first edition have sold from \$2.00 to \$850.00, the latter figure being

*The writer wishes to express his appreciation for compilations of issues of this edition received from A. H. Greenly, New York City; William A. Jackson, Harvard College Library; and Louis A. Warren, Lincoln National Life Foundation. His research has also been generously aided by M. A. Cook, Lincoln National Life Foundation; Otis G. Hammond, Director, New Hampshire Historical Society; J. S. Jackson, Brown University Library; R. Gerald McMurtry, Lincoln Memorial University; A. J. Ondrak, Chief Newspaper Div., Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; Harry E. Pratt, Springfield, Ill.; Mrs. Paul Steinbrecher, Chicago; Miss Elizabeth B. Steere, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.; Ernest J. Wessen, Mansfield, Ohio; Lyle H. Wright and Miss Norma B. Cuthbert, Huntington Library.

given for a copy autographed in ink. Yet for forty years the distinguishing marks of the first printing have been disputed.

There can be no disagreement over the date of the first edition. All the Follett, Foster issues are dated 1860. The next, or Burrows edition, did not appear until 1894. Disagreements arise primarily over the priority of the seventeen issues of the first edition. Collectors have turned to the verso of the title page and, pointing to the publisher's name, have said, "The first issue lacks a line over the publisher's card." Certainly copies in which the card is roofed with a printer's line are later issues, but the line is lacking in at least two issues which differ in pagination and both cannot be first. The problem of determining the priority of these two is easy. All but six of the seventeen issues contain advertisements stating the number of copies already sold. Obviously they are later issues. Yet they hold the secret of the priority of the two in dispute.

Lincoln, it must be remembered, challenged Douglas to debate the slavery question prior to a senatorial election in Illinois. Lincoln did not win the seat but he did succeed in artfully enticing his opponent to bid for votes in Illinois, by anti-slavery utterances which would lose him votes tenfold in the South if Douglas dared run later for President. These political exigencies are reflected in the various issues of the *Debates*. Thus external and internal evidence may be used to determine priority of issue. In order to do this it is necessary to understand the circumstances surrounding the first publication. The idea of keeping the debates intact did not occur to Lincoln until after he was defeated for the Senate. Then he wrote the editor of the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, a paper which had supported him:

"I wish to preserve a set of the last debates (if they may be called so), between Douglas and myself. To enable me to do so, please get two copies of each number of your paper containing the whole, and send them to me by express."

That Lincoln desired to use these clippings

in the succeeding election is evident from the last paragraph of this letter in which he stated:

"I believe, according to a letter of yours to Hatch, you are 'feeling like hell yet.' Quit that. You will soon feel better. Another 'blow up' is coming; and we shall have fun again. Douglas managed to be supported both as the best instrument to put down and to uphold the slave power; but no ingenuity can long keep the antagonism in harmony."³

Lincoln's eagerness to preserve the *Debates* in durable form for the next "blow up" may be surmised from the fact that when ten days had elapsed with no word from the editor of the *Press and Tribune* he wrote again, this time to his friend, H. C. Whitney, in Chicago who got the papers for him.⁴ In December Lincoln clipped his and Douglas' speeches from the *Press and Tribune* and the *Democratic Times*. Arranging the clippings in consecutive order he got a book binder to paste them neatly in a blank book in a fashion that might attract a publisher.⁵ Politicians saw the advantage of preserving a permanent record of the ambiguous position into which Douglas had been forced. A member of the state Republican committee⁶ urged the scrapbook's publication. Lincoln wanted it published but the presidential election was still over a year and a half away. Lincoln could afford to wait. He replied that he did not care to let the scrapbook "go out of my control."⁷

When Douglas, who hoped to be Democratic nominee, heard that the *Debates* might be printed, he remonstrated. Later Douglas remembered that the reason for his objection was the "many errors in the reports of the speeches as published"⁸ in the press. Douglas' reticence must have further impressed on Lincoln's mind his opponent's apprehension at having his anti-slavery pronouncements trans-fixed in print as the presidential election loomed, but still Lincoln did not deem the time ripe for publication.

As the year 1860 approached both Lincoln and Douglas looked forward to the presidential conventions. Neither was sure of his

own nomination. Both were strong men in their respective parties—Douglas the strongest but the echo of the debates although unpublished continued to bring Lincoln's name before the nation. In the fall of 1859 Lincoln was invited to speak in Ohio for the gubernatorial election then in progress. While stumping the state Lincoln, no doubt, told the party leaders about his scrapbook. The campaign resulted in a great victory and it is not surprising that on December 7, 1859, the Republican Central Executive Committee wrote Lincoln to send the clippings for publication as "luminous and triumphant expositions of the doctrines of the Republican party."⁸ Once more Lincoln was acknowledged as leader of his party.

Follett, Foster and Company were selected to publish the speeches. Later they stated that they were accepting the manuscript for publication "as we do other books, believing that they would pay" and "assuming all pecuniary risk."⁹ Lincoln was to receive one hundred copies gratis.

The firm could well afford the venture. Oran Follett, a resident of Sandusky, had in addition to the publishing house an interest in a bank, a railroad and a steamship. He was a veteran of many political campaigns. As editor of the *Ohio State Journal*, he helped organize the Republican Party.¹⁰ On December 19, Lincoln wrote that the scrapbook was being forwarded: "I wish the reprint to be precisely as the copies I send, without any comment whatever."¹¹

This statement holds a possible clue to the first issue. Another clue appears in the printing of the books. Seventeen variants of the Follett, Foster & Company *Debates* are known. All are apparently printed from the same plates but a close examination of pages 163, 190, 197 and 242 shows punctuation marks in one printing that are lacking from all the other sixteen. Without doubt the printing of this one issue was from different plates than all the others. Could it be that this one volume was printed from original type while

the others were printed from stereotype plates? At that early day stereotyping was not always successful. It is possible that the punctuation marks were not reproduced. The make-up of the odd volume indicates also that it was printed before the others. It is composed of seventeen octavo signatures and the first page of text begins on the first page of the first signature. Before the book was bound some prefatory material such as the title page, table of contents, the letter from the State Central Committee, a letter from the State Board of Equalization and Lincoln's letter of transmittal were printed on odd leaves. These were bound in front of the regular signatures—a makeshift assembly indicating again that this was a trial or experimental publication.

One more test confirms the assumption of priority for this volume. The stereotype plates—lacking the punctuation marks—are used for issues which contain advertising matter known to be later than the first issue. Printings from the same plates that lack this advertising matter may be assumed to be later also. Thus the priority is affirmed on another count.

The establishment of this priority opens the way for many suppositions. More copies of this issue are autographed by Lincoln than any other. Could the one hundred copies presented to him gratis have come from this printing? The date of issue is another disputed point. The *Debates* were first offered for sale in Columbus, March 20. At that time they were advertised at different prices, bound and unbound. Yet publisher Follett stated that the books were first published early in March.¹² Now it is technically impossible for the first issue to be assembled satisfactorily without a cover. The prefatory pages of odd conjugate leaves would tear from the volume if not protected by the board covers. Is it not likely then that this first edition appeared before those first offered for sale? The publisher's own statement and the format of the book indicate as much. The volume may be described as follows:

POLITICAL DEBATES

BETWEEN

HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN

AND

HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS,

In the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois;

INCLUDING THE PRECEDING SPEECHES OF EACH, AT CHICAGO, SPRINGFIELD, ETC.; ALSO, THE TWO GREAT SPEECHES OF MR. LINCOLN IN OHIO, IN 1859,

AS

CAREFULLY PREPARED BY THE REPORTERS OF EACH PARTY, AND PUBLISHED
AT THE TIMES OF THEIR DELIVERY.

COLUMBUS:
FOLLETT, FOSTER AND COMPANY.
1860.

Facsimile of title page of the First Edition.

I. FIRST EDITION

Imprint: Columbus: Follett, Foster and Company.
1860.

Collation: 2 flyleaves; leaf of title with copyright notation and "card" without line on verso; correspondence, p. iii, iv; unpaged leaf of contents, verso blank; blank leaf; text p. [1]-268; at end 2 blank leaves and 2 flyleaves.

Bound in cardboard covers faced with brown cloth impressed with a design consisting of a star in a circle surrounded by three parallel lines at the edge of the cover with ornamental devices in each corner. Stamped in gold on spine: [double rule] / DEBATES / of / LINCOLN / and / DOUGLAS. / [rule].

Edges trimmed. The leaves measure 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$. The first regular signature begins with Lincoln's first speech and ends with page 16. The second signature begins with p. 17.

The construction of this book is important. The 2 flyleaves at the front are both conjugate with the end papers pasted to the verso of the inside of the front cover. The signature beginning with the title page consists of only 4 leaves. Next come 17 signatures of 16 pages, the last signature having 4 blank pages followed by 2 flyleaves conjugate with the end papers pasted on the recto of the back cover. This uneconomical method of publication required 17 folded sheets of printers' paper for the text, three half sheets for the binding and prefatory material. Fifteen pages are blank.

If this book appeared "early in March" as the publisher maintained, then Lincoln was on his eastern speaking tour, the trip on which he delivered his famous Cooper Union Address,¹³ when this issue was finished. His instructions before leaving specified that the *Debates* be published "without any comment whatever."¹⁴ Does this explain the insertion of the prefatory correspondence on odd leaves in the fore part of the book?

With the first edition established beyond question three remain. Of these one appears to be identical with the first edition in make-up—the arrangement of prefatory pages—but a close examination discloses the telltale plates substituted for the type. It is noticeable too that the text no longer begins on the first page of the first signature, but instead on page five. Some of the prefatory pages are blank—to be available, perhaps, for whatever material Lincoln might agree to include when he returned from the East. In order to leave

these first pages blank it was necessary to rearrange the page type in all the thirty-four chases—no small task. But when it is remembered that the chases had to be broken down to make the stereotypes it is easy to explain. In this issue the title page, copyright notation and two pages of correspondence were printed on conjugate leaves and stitched in behind the first two blank leaves of the first signature. This peculiar issue may be designated as:

II. DE LUXE ISSUE

Imprint: Same as No. I.

Collation: 3 flyleaves, the first serving as an end paper, has flower design on recto; leaf of title with copyright notation and "card" without line on verso; correspondence, p. iii, iv; unpaged leaf of contents, verso blank; text p. [1]-268; at end one blank leaf and one leaf with flower design on verso, serving as end paper.

The case is the same as No. I. This is not changed until No. VI appears. The second signatures of No. II and all later issues begin with p. 13 and so through the book, each signature beginning four pages earlier than the first edition.

This is the most handsome of all the publications. Only two copies have been inspected by this investigator but their composition indicates them to be trial or sample copies of the new format used in all succeeding publications. The signature arrangement of these volumes is as follows: 2 leaves of heavy glazed flowered paper, 1 pasted to back of cover for binding; 1 fly pasted in; 1 signature of 16 pages with a folio of 4 pages stitched in behind the first 2 leaves; 16 signatures; 1 blank page pasted in between last printed page and flowered flyleaf.

By this new arrangement the printer assembled the new volume as satisfactorily as the first issue and he did so with 17 full sheets, one-half sheet of white paper plus one-eighth sheet of heavy flowered paper for end paper. In other words, he reduced the paper requirement from 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ sheets plus the glazed paper—a material saving in fifteen or twenty thousand copies. The involved technique of additional cutting, folding and pasting in the new format indicates that it was experimental.

With the sequence of the first two *Debates*

printed according to Act of Congress. In the year 1860.
BY D. L. FLETCHER, Printer & Co.

WALKER LTD. 19

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EVOLUTION OF THE TELL-TALE "LINE:"

All first editions lacked the "line" over the card of the printers, as shown in first panel.

Third panel shows how the "line" was retained after the "Table of Contents" was removed in subsequent editions.

determined, only two remain to be placed chronologically. Both of these—like all succeeding issues—show an effort on the part of the printer to retain the composition of No. II and at the same time reduce the labor required for its assemblage. The last sixteen signatures are alike in both these, as well as in all succeeding issues. Obviously the printer did not want to rearrange his page plates in more chases than was necessary. Both of them also have no separate conjugate preface leaves stitched or pasted in front. The title page and prefatory material is all incorporated in the first regular signature. Thus these issues are the first fit for the market in the unbound form advertised. They do not have to be examined long to determine which was printed first. The secret is found on the verso of the title page. On one issue the printer has crowded the copyright notation, table of contents and publisher's card all together. To do this he had to reset one page of type, and the "line"—much discussed by collectors—was put over the publisher's card to separate it from the table of contents. The congested appearance of this page would make any printer unhappy but the volume could be issued without a cover as advertised—although this investigator has never seen one.*

The other of the two issues corrects the congestion noted in the first by omitting the prefatory correspondence and filling one of the resultant blank pages with the table of contents—a change that required resetting two pages of type in the first chase. The "line," which was necessary when the card was placed on the same page as the table of contents, has been preserved. The pleasing appearance of this volume compared to the previous one indicates it to be an improvement—made consciously. Furthermore, the "line" was necessary for the former and not for the latter. Certainly it would not have been put in until necessary. Therefore the copies with the line must have been the last published. A third point clinches the argu-

ment. The second or improved issue, No. IV, conforms to all later issues. It must have been the last to appear. We know definitely that the first copy to come to the attention of Stephen A. Douglas was No. IV. He noticed particularly that there was no political correspondence in the fore part of the volume.¹⁵ At that time Douglas did not consider the publication worthy of mention. The two issues in dispute may be compared as follows:

III. COMMERCIAL ISSUE

Imprint: Same as No. I.

Collation: 2 flyleaves, both being pasted to cover as end papers; leaf of title on verso of which appears copyright notation, table of contents and card with line; correspondence, p. iii, iv; text p. [1]-268; at end 2 flyleaves.

IV. NOMINATION ISSUE (MARCH 20)¹⁶

Imprint: Same as No. I.

Collation: 2 flyleaves both being pasted to cover as end papers; leaf of title on verso of which appears copyright notation and card with line; leaf of contents, verso blank, text p. [1]-268; at end 2 flyleaves.

Variants: *

A. Imprint: Columbus: Follett, Foster and Company, Boston; Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. New York: M. Doolady, Pittsburgh Hunt & Miner. Cincinnati: Ricky, Mallory & Co. 1860.

B. Imprint: Columbus: Follett, Foster and Company. Boston: Brown & Taggard. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Detroit: Putnam, Smith & Co. 1860.

The wide distribution of these books must have changed Douglas' opinion of their unimportance. His party had recently split over the slavery issue, failing to make any nomination for President. A new convention was scheduled to meet in Baltimore on June 18. Douglas hoped to get the nomination. It was no time for his Southern constituents to be reminded of his statements two years before when Lincoln, looking into the future, had forced the "Little Giant" to say things against slavery to get votes in Illinois. Now when Douglas needed Southern votes desperately these incriminating statements were selling faster than the presses could run them off.

*Since the first publication of this article, I have inspected an unbound copy owned by A. H. Greenly.

*These variants are both unbound. Damaged type at top of p. 197 indicates that they were fragments of Issue VI or later. Their composition necessitates inclusion in this category.

On June 9 Douglas wrote a letter of remonstrance. He said that the preliminary correspondence which showed the political nature of the publication should be restored.¹⁷ Lincoln had not wanted the correspondence published in the first place.¹⁸ Its deletion had come too late to hide the partisan nature of the book. Douglas was making political capital of the suppression. Lincoln was trapped.

It is impossible to know what Lincoln and his managers had in their minds—what they thought—but it is significant that the next issue of the *Debates* restored the essential part of the correspondence and added the disheartening—to Douglas—notation that 15,000 copies had been sold. This record of sales was good advertising. All succeeding copies carried it and the number increased from issue to issue. There can be no question about the order in which they appeared. The first of them follows:

V. POST-NOMINATION ISSUE (MAY 21)

Imprint: Same as No. I.

Collation: 2 flyleaves both being pasted to cover as end papers; 2 leaves of advs. announcing Howell's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* to be ready June 12; *Exiles of Florida; Adela, the Octoroon* and notation that 15,000 *Debates* have sold. Also letter from Lincoln, Dec. 19, 1859; leaf of title on verso of which appears copyright notation and card with line; leaf of contents, verso blank; text p. [1]-268; at end 2 flyleaves.

The internal composition of this book is the same as No. IV except for the folio of advertisements bound in before the title page which is page one of the first signature. Part of the correspondence is reinstated and it appears in this and all subsequent printings.

Investigation has not disclosed a copy of this issue with the compound imprint noted above (No. IV, A and B). In fact the volume is made up of signatures of the earlier issues with the advertisements noting the sale of 15,000 copies added before binding. The date of this publication may be judged from an advertisement in the front announcing a *Life of Lincoln* by William Dean Howells "to be ready June 12th." Howells did not write his *Life* until after Lincoln's nomination on May 18. This issue of the *Debates*, then, must

have been issued between May 18 and June 12. Further proof appears in the publisher's announcement of a fourth edition on May 21, 1860.¹⁹ The nomenclature used by the publisher is perplexing. This so-called "fourth edition" seems to have been in reality a fifth issue. Probably the trial de luxe printing (No. II) was not considered an edition. The nomination had caught the publishers unprepared to meet immediate demands for both the *Debates* and the *Life* of the new presidential candidate. Everything in stock, including the sample experimental copies, may have been put into circulation. Certainly Follett, Foster and Company purchased two new presses to keep up with the demand and on May 23 they advertised for "feeders."²⁰

The next issue announced 16,000 copies sold. Let Douglas read and squirm! Its date may be judged from an advertisement which promised Howells' *Life* to be ready June 20 instead of June 12 as previously announced. Obviously Follett, Foster and Company were swamped with orders. This issue collates as follows:

VI. DOUGLAS PRE-NOMINATION ISSUE (JUNE 12-20)

Imprint: Same as No. I.

Collation: 2 flyleaves both being pasted to cover as end papers; 2 leaves of advs. announcing Howell's *Life* to be ready June 20. "16,000 copies Lincoln and Douglas' Debates sold!" Letter from Lincoln, Dec. 19, 1859; leaf of title on verso of which appears copyright notation and card with line; leaf of contents, verso blank; text p. [1]-268; at end 2 flyleaves.

Variants:

- A. Cover design lacks ornamental corners.
- B. Cover same as A. Imprint: Columbus: Follett, Foster and Company. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee & Co. New York: M. Doolady. Pittsburgh Hunt & Miner. Cincinnati: Rickey, Mallory & Co. 1860.
- C. Cover same as A. Imprint: Columbus: Follett, Foster and Company. Boston: Brown & Taggard. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Detroit: Putnam, Smith & Co. 1860.

In many ways this issue, appearing in seven variants, three without covers, is the most interesting of all. Lincoln presented one of these copies to Carl Schurz when he visited Springfield for a Republican rally on July

^{24.²¹} We know that the publisher was behind schedule on his printing. The *Life* by Howells was deferred. In the middle of this issue the publisher also began binding the *Debates* with a different case, one that lacked the ornate corners in the cover design. Either his old press had broken down or he was farming out work to another bindery. It is noticeable too that the change in binding occurred with a change in the imprint. Only issues with the original imprint were bound in the old as well as the new case. All copies with compound imprints (B and C) were bound by the new press. At the time this change in case was made an accident occurred. Something crushed the type at the top of page 197. Could the printing as well as the binding have been sent to another shop? If so the plate might have been bruised in transit. The defect appears in all succeeding issues. At this stage in the publication the type in other places shows signs of wear. Pages 11 and 15 are good examples.

By June 25, with Douglas nominated by a bob-tailed Democracy so woefully split over the slavery issue that his election seemed doubtful, Follett, Foster and Company announced with satisfaction that 20,416 *Debates* had been sold.²² The Columbus publishers were the fortunate possessors of the only available *Works*, of the two candidates for the presidency. Another issue was planned.

VII. DOUGLAS POST-NOMINATION ISSUE (AUGUST)

This has the same size and internal composition as the preceding printing but the advertising folio has been changed again and a note states that 24,996 copies have been sold. Lincoln sent a copy of this issue²³ to William F. Goodwin in New Hampshire. Goodwin had heckled Lincoln when he spoke there on his eastern tour. Receipt of the volume was dated August 18.²⁴ The New Hampshire copy has the simple imprint of Follett, Foster and Company. Variants of the issue carry the imprints described for VI, B and C. All bound copies inspected have corners with plain line border, star and circle in center and no ornamental covers.

The problem of turning out *Debates* in sufficient numbers to satisfy the demand was only partially met by the additional presses and distributing agencies. Regular business was pushed aside and it is not surprising to read in this issue that the publication of another commercial venture, Wm. T. Coggeshall's *Poets & Poetry of the West*, was postponed from July 5 to August 5.

The last issue tells another story:

VIII. ISSUE FOR THE ELECTION

Imprint: Same as No. I.

Collation: 2 flyleaves both being pasted to cover as end papers; leaf of adv. with letter from Douglas on verso; leaf of correspondence, p. 4, 5; leaf of title with copyright notation and card with line on verso; unpage leaf of contents, verso blank; text p. [1]-268; at end 2 flyleaves.

The binding and printing on spine are similar to the Douglas Post-Nomination Issue. This last re-issue also appears with imprints VI, B and C.

A collation of the pages discloses the only difference from the preceding issues to be in the signature of advertising bound in behind the first flyleaves. In former copies this folio has been devoted exclusively to announcements of books for sale. In this copy a single advertisement is followed by three pages of correspondence — Lincoln's letter of December 19, deleted after the first three issues, restored in No. V, and two new letters. The first, from Stephen A. Douglas, dated June 9—ten days before his nomination —complains that the *Debates* as published "were necessarily imperfect." To this the publishers added a reply dated June 16, enclosing affidavits of their compositor, James F. Turney, Democrat, and his printer, I. W. Short, that both had compared the text of the *Debates* with the accounts printed in the Democratic and Republican papers and found no inaccuracies of consequence.

The curious thing about this new correspondence is the fact that it was available for two issues of the *Debates* earlier than the one in which it appeared. The publishers sent Douglas' letter and their reply to Lincoln in Springfield. Lincoln held them for a week. On June 25, the news-

papers announced that Douglas had been nominated as Lincoln's rival for the Presidency. On the same day Lincoln released the correspondence for publication in the *Illinois State Journal*.²⁵ Then, editing it slightly in the manner Lincoln sometimes used to sharpen style, the correspondence was returned to Follett, Foster and Company to be incorporated in the last issue of the *Debates*, together with an opening paragraph—most embarrassing to Douglas—announcing that “nearly 30,000 copies” had been sold. Once more Douglas' efforts to save himself had been turned against him by Lincoln. Every time Douglas had offered an excuse he had been exposed. For two years Lincoln and his colleagues had constantly reminded the people of his opponent's untenable position on slavery as pronounced in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, taunting him on all occasions. The two year campaign had succeeded in splitting the Democratic Party. It had developed a best seller and—more important—a President named Abraham Lincoln. Collectors have good reason for considering the *Debates* the most unique book on their shelves.

¹Henry Villard, *Lincoln on the Eve of '61 A Journalist's Story* (New York, 1941), 43.

²John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (Gettysburg ed.; New York, 1905), XI; 111.

³Henry C. Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* (Boston, 1892), 457-58.

⁴This scrapbook is now in the collection of Oliver R. Barrett, Kenilworth, Ill.

⁵Letter of Homer L. Ross, Earlham, Iowa, to writer, July 30, 1942.

⁶Gilbert A. Tracy, *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1917), 107.

⁷Letter of S. A. Douglas to Follett, Foster & Co., June 9, 1860, in *Political Debates between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas* (1st ed., 8th issue, Columbus, O., 1860), preface (3).

⁸Letter of Geo. M. Parsons and others to Lincoln, Dec. 7, 1859, in *Debates* (1st ed., 1st issue), preface iii.

⁹Letter of Follett, Foster & Co. to S. A. Douglas, June 16, 1860, in *Debates* (1st ed., 8th issue), preface 4.

¹⁰Letter of A. J. Ondrak, Chief Newspaper Div., Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Soc., to writer, Oct. 30, 1941.

¹¹Letter of Lincoln to Geo. M. Parsons and others, Dec. 19, 1859, in *Debates* (1st ed., 1st issue), preface iv.

¹²Letter of Follett, Foster & Co. to S. A. Douglas, June 16, 1860, in *Debates* (1st ed., 8th issue), preface 4.

¹³Paul M. Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861 Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln* (Springfield, Ill., 1933), 322 ff.

¹⁴See note 11.

¹⁵Letter of S. A. Douglas to Follett, Foster & Co., June 9, 1860 in *Debates* (1st ed., 8th issue), preface (3).

¹⁶This appears with and without cover. Two bound copies cut 3/16" smaller than standard are at the Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee and in the A. H. Greenly Collection in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Each is in a different case. Surely these are rebinding jobs although the work appears to be contemporary with the original issue.

¹⁷Letter of S. A. Douglas to Follett, Foster & Co., June 9, 1860 in *Debates* (1st ed., 8th issue), preface (3).

¹⁸See note 11.

¹⁹Ernest James Wessen, “Campaign Lives of Abraham Lincoln 1860,” *Papers in Illinois History*, 1937 (Springfield, 1938), 203.

²⁰Wessen, *Papers in Illinois History*, 1937, 203.

²¹Angle, *Lincoln 1854-1861*, 343.

²²W. D. Howells, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1st ed., Columbus, O., 1860), adv., verso of cover.

²³Letter of Otis G. Hammond to writer, June 1, 1942.

²⁴Elwin L. Page, *Abraham Lincoln in New Hampshire* (Boston, 1929), illus. opp. 38 and (149).

²⁵*Illinois State Journal*, June 25, 1860.



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